

PEACE NEWS

No. 453 February 16, 1945 2d.

CRIMEAN CONFERENCE :

The end of distrust ?

THE declaration following the Crimean Conference is far too comprehensive to be analysed in detail at short notice.

Unconditional surrender is categorically maintained. The agreed terms to be imposed on Germany will not be made known until "armed resistance has been finally crushed." There will be three separate main zones of occupation, France being invited to occupy a fourth zone. Germany is to make compensation in kind for the damage done to the greatest extent possible. A special Commission will be set up for this purpose, significantly in Moscow. The difficulty

Observer's Commentary

concerning voting procedure in the World Security Organization is declared to have been overcome—report says that the American proposal has been accepted—and a Conference will meet at San Francisco in April to draw up the final Charter.

On the liberated countries a declaration impeccable in form is made. The principle of the Atlantic Charter is reaffirmed—"the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live."

The United Nations will jointly assist liberated States (a) to establish conditions of peace; (b) to carry out emergency measures of relief; (c) to form interim governments broadly representative of all the democratic elements and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsive to the people's will; and (d) to facilitate where necessary the holding of such elections.

Changes in Poland

SPECIFICALLY in the case of Poland, the Lublin Government will "be organized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and Poles abroad." This new provisional Government shall be pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections on the basis of universal suffrage and the secret ballot. The Curzon line is to be followed "with digressions in some regions of 5 to 8 (CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

"LOVE THE SINNER"

IT looks as though I shall receive a very large correspondence indeed in response to the letter of Feb. 9 deploring that Peace News dwells more upon the political aspect of pacifism than the constructive aspect "which Dick Sheppard stood for, hating the sin, but striving to love the sinner." To print the replies will obviously be impossible. I propose to write an article embodying, as faithfully as I can, the main tenor of the various opinions.

But I cannot help wondering how it is that some people are so certain what Dick Sheppard's attitude would have been, had he lived to experience this war. The only thing I feel fairly sure about is that it would have been surprising; and that I should have vastly enjoyed arguing with him about the merits or demerits of Peace News.

However, perhaps so many people have begun to ask themselves whether they really like Peace News that they have forgotten to send their contributions to the Fund. They shouldn't do that. The obviously correct thing is to send your money if you like PN and send it if you don't—"love the sinner."

Contributions since Feb. 2: £18 6s. 6d. Total to date: £5,740 13s. 2d.

THE EDITOR

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WORLD BARBARISM OR WORLD ORDER

We publish below the first article in the series in which, as we announced last week, well-known writers are dealing with major aspects of the peace problem. These articles are intended to contribute to the general purpose of the National Peace Council's Campaign for a Constructive Peace, and have been planned in co-operation with the NPC.

Each article will relate to a particular section of the NPC's Petition for a Constructive Peace. This week's contribution, a general introduction to the subject, discusses the issues raised in the preamble to the Petition (quoted in the next column).

The second article in the series, to be published next week, will be by LORD NOEL BUXTON.

By CHRISTOPHER DAWSON

the well-known Catholic publicist and author of many books on religious and sociological questions, including: "The Making of Europe," "The Modern Dilemma," "Christianity and the New Age," "The Judgment of the Nations"; and the National Peace Council pamphlet, "The Renewal of Civilization."

FOR more than thirty years the modern world has been passing through a phase of catastrophic change. We have seen two world wars, the downfall of five historic empires and the creation and destruction of numerous national States. Will this process continue with increasing violence and ferocity until our civilization founders? Or can we hope that our civilization will recover its equilibrium and enter on a new phase of peaceful development? The answer to these questions depends in large measure on the nature of the coming peace.

The peace of Versailles proved to be only a truce between two wars, and if the coming peace is also no more than a truce, the outlook for the world and especially for Europe is very bleak. It is impossible to estimate how much may depend on the decisions of the group of poor, fallible, overworked politicians and experts who have the fate of the world in their hands for a few months, and their task becomes even more difficult if they are driven on by the clamour of an uninstructed public opinion which demands everything at the same time—vengeance and prosperity, international justice and the fulfilment of national ambition, security and irresponsibility.

IN order to make a good peace, it is necessary to keep one aim in view, and that aim is Peace. A good peace is not a sort of social panacea, it is a solid foundation capable of bearing the structure of an international order. If we can put an end to the reign of violence without sacrificing the rights of other peoples and of our own posterity, we shall have achieved our essential aim.

If a single unnecessary condition is made an obstacle to peace, it becomes a crime to stand for it, however good it may be in itself. Therefore the essential qualification for the peace-maker is moderation, as we have seen again and again in the history of the past, notably in the great settlement that ended the Napoleonic wars.

Castlereagh and Wellington were men of limited views. They had not the genius of Napoleon I or the idealism of Alexander I or the cleverness of Metternich; but they possessed such iron moderation and such a firm grasp on their limited objective that the peace they made between England and France has never since been broken through all the changes of 130 years.

No doubt the problem to be solved today is infinitely more complex, but there is a real analogy between the two situations, so far as Europe, at least, is concerned. In both cases the European State system has to be reconstructed after a devastating series of wars and revolutions. In both cases the situation is complicated by

ideological divisions which affect the internal politics of each State, and in both cases the first essential is the disarmament and pacification of the greatest military power in Europe.

THE settlement of 1815 solved the last and most essential problem by its combination of firmness and moderation. It failed ultimately, though not entirely, to solve the other two, because our statesmen were lacking in vision, and the allied leader who possessed vision—Alexander—lacked moderation and a firm grasp on political realities.

For those who talk about power-politics should remember that real power politics always demand a policy of moderation, because power is essentially limited and the men who believe that they can settle the world by power, like Napoleon and Alexander and Ludendorff and Hitler, always end by discovering that their power is not enough. And the same thing will happen to us, if we should regard military victory as a sort of blank cheque on the future.

All that victory does is to remove one obstacle in the way of peace. It does not solve our problems for us. On the contrary, it burdens us with a fresh load of responsibility and reveals new problems which the fog of war has concealed. It is not difficult to face war with courage—the human race has been doing it for thousands of years: what is difficult is to face victory with moderation—the iron moderation of the true statesman who accepts alike the weight of his responsibilities and the limits of his power, and who is therefore not content with the easy solutions that satisfy the passions and hopes of the moment.

Many people today believe that to expect such qualities from practical politicians is impossible. My point is that we did actually achieve something of the kind in 1815, and if it could be done in a pre-scientific and un-democratic age, it is not too high a standard for the democratic statesmen who have undertaken to organize the peace of the world on new foundations.

IT is only when the foundations have been laid in this spirit of moderation that it is possible to plan with any degree of confidence for the realization of the aims and ideals which still command the loyalty of all that is best in Western civilization. The immense advance in material resources and technical control of which the present war is a monstrous and perverted manifestation could revolutionize the conditions of human life on a world-wide scale if only they would be redirected to the service of humanity in a constructive

The basis of a lasting peace

The preamble to the National Petition for a Constructive Peace runs:

"WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, believing that a world free from insecurity, injustice and war must be built not on conceptions of exclusive guilt, racial inferiority or preponderant power, but on the principle of the interdependence of all peoples and their common responsibility for the making of a peaceful order, and that a true security against war and aggression can be provided only by a positive policy which removes the causes of conflict;

AND BELIEVING FURTHER that such a policy calls for a radical reconstruction—spiritual, economic and political—which is rooted in responsible personal freedom, which subordinates sectional interests to the common well-being, and is directed to . . ."

—then follow specific suggestions, after which the Petition concludes:

"PRAY HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT to formulate such a programme of constructive peace-making, to put it into action at home as fully and as speedily as possible, and to commend it vigorously in the international field as the necessary basis for an enduring peace."

spirit. But before this can come about, there must be a profound change in the whole spirit of our civilization. It is a religious rather than a political issue, since it involves the deeper forces of religious faith and spiritual will which are the really creative elements in social as well as individual life.

It has been the tragedy of our civilization that it has tended to lose contact with these deeper sources of common action at the very moment when it was acquiring boundless power and resources; and the result was that these resources were first exploited in an ignoble scramble for wealth and were then organized by the national State in a competitive race for power which has culminated in the present orgy of mass destruction that threatens to wreck European civilization and to ruin the world.

To check this process of destruction requires nothing less than a spiritual revolution—a fundamental "change of mind"—*metanoia*—on the part of the victors no less than of the vanquished. It is not enough to make elaborate rational schemes for the re-education of Germany or for the punishment of war criminals. For we are all of us war criminals and we all need re-educating, but who shall be our judges and our schoolmasters?

NO doubt the Nazis are directly responsible for the present war and there can be no peace until they are defeated. But defeat alone is no foundation on which to build anything and gives no security for the future. Hitler's rise to power was due above all to the skilful exploitation of the frustration and despair which followed Germany's defeat. In particular the war guilt clause of the Versailles Treaty proved to be one of the most useful assets in the service of Nazi propaganda. Consequently there is a danger of a vicious circle by which every war leads to another by providing a psychological situation which can be exploited by unscrupulous demagogues. And there is no evidence that we have yet discovered the right technique for overcoming this danger.

It is clear that the popular solution of a hard and Carthaginian peace does not really touch the heart of the problem, since it is a naive reversion to a primitive conception of international life which European statesmen had already recognized to be out of date by 1814. It is necessary to defeat not only Nazism but also the reversion to barbarism of which Nazism is the symbol and the symptom. We must return to the more civilized traditions of European life that were built up slowly and painfully by centuries of labour and faith and which we need today more urgently than at any time in our history.

The contributors to this series have been given complete freedom of expression, on the assumption that they are sympathetic to a constructive approach to the problems under discussion. They are not committed in any way to the precise policies formulated in the National Petition for a Constructive Peace, nor should their views be taken to represent those of Peace News or the National Peace Council.

Next week's
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COUNTERFEIT REVOLUTION

IN a pamphlet published by the National Peace Council "Will the Peace Last?" (4d.) Mr. Harold Laski wonders sceptically whether the Big Three have reached any agreement about the character of the world into which, with the defeat of Germany and Japan, they are hoping to move.

"Certainly the difficulty is real of trying to guess what common denominator will unite when the war is over, a Jeffersonian Democrat whose outstanding quality is a superb capacity for opportunism, like Mr. Roosevelt, with a Tory imperialist like Mr. Churchill on the one hand and a Bolshevik whose Marxism has at least a tinge of Slavonic nationalism, like Marshal Stalin on the other."

Mr. Laski arraigns them all for not recognizing that the war is not merely a conflict for power, but "a genuine and deliberate revolution in ideas." A genuine revolution perhaps; but hardly a deliberate one. And is it really so certain that it is a revolution in ideas?

Mr. Laski himself does not clearly indicate in what this revolution in ideas consists. He says that the contradiction between economic needs and political forms—between the claims of political sovereignty and the new industrial productivity—are one cause why our modern civilization is now coming to its sticky end; and another is the general unwillingness to confront the problem of property—to establish the new property-relations required if the new powers of production are to be unimpeded. But is there any positive indication that these outmoded systems are to be changed?

Mr. Laski, we think, is projecting the mutual revolution he desires on to the real but confused turmoil that is actually taking place. France, the land of intellectual clarity *par excellence*, may serve as a good example of what is really happening, as distinct from what Mr. Laski desires to happen. Gen. de Gaulle was lifted to power by a resistance movement, which demanded precisely those changes which Mr. Laski believes necessary: the supersession of national sovereignty by the establishment of a European federation, and domestically, a radical reform of the property system at least in respect of all large concentrations of capital. What has happened? Gen. de Gaulle seeking a military alliance with Moscow, and pressing the extreme nationalist claims of France against Germany, has directly repudiated the first demand; and, in order to step up the disorganized war-production of France to the point at which it can sustain a peace-time army of one million men, has indefinitely postponed the second. And he has been enabled thus directly to negative the demands of the Resistance by a sudden reversal of policy by the French Communists. Communism thus, in its final avatar, reveals itself as the buttress of extreme nationalism and of capitalism.

Whether such a constellation of power can long endure is very dubious. It is, in all probability, a false façade of apparent stabilization, behind which a real revolutionary process will ferment. But the nature of that process it is impossible to conjecture. For it is now complicated by the behaviour of the Communist parties everywhere. They have become the instruments of the extreme nationalism into which Russian Communism has developed. They are at once the best disciplined, the best organized, and most unscrupulous of all the working-class parties throughout Europe. In the interests of Russian foreign policy, they will abandon the interests of their own working-class.

This cannot fail to create a mood of cynicism among the workers of Europe, who are still under the spell of the myth of Moscow. What will eventually emerge from this moral confusion we cannot prophesy. But it will not facilitate that "great coalition of the progressive forces" without the formation of which, Mr. Laski believes, the progressive supporters of this war will find that "they have defeated one set of barbarians only to become the slaves of another set."

IN a valuable article on France in the Catholic Herald (Feb. 2), the writer notes a contradictory attitude towards Britain—of suspicion and resentment uneasily combined with genuine admiration, and says:

"One might explain the contradiction by saying that cerebrally or intellectually the Frenchman admires England and sees very clearly the mutual dependence of both countries and the need for them to co-operate in the face of future difficulties, while emotionally he suffers an almost morbid inferiority complex with regard to England."

The contradiction is natural enough. But the dangerous effects of it in the realm of policy are already apparent in the aggressive nationalism of de Gaulle. That this aggressiveness is largely a psychological compensation does not make it the less difficult to deal with.

On Feb. 5 de Gaulle said: "As regards the occupation of the whole of Germany, which of necessity will follow victory, it is clear that the French army will become gradually the preponderant element in the West."

In this de Gaulle goes even further than his former statement that French troops would be established from end to end of the Rhine. Now he looks forward to the time when American and British troops will be largely withdrawn from the occupation of "the whole of Germany," and their place taken by French. What would be the psychological effect on French and Germans respectively of the occupation of Germany by the French over whom the Germans were so startlingly victorious? Surely, pernicious in the extreme. The Germans would be contemptuous and resentful, and the French, a prey to the sense of the inferiority, knowing themselves to be in a false and undeserved position, would behave aggressively and brutally.

Pressure on Britain

The same speech concludes with this passage:

"We are not presumptuous enough to believe that we can ensure the peace of Europe single-handed. For that we need alliances. That is why we have concluded a good and true alliance with Soviet Russia. For that same purpose we desire to make an alliance with England as soon as she will consent to what to us is vital with regard to Germany, and as soon as we shall have eliminated between us certain vestiges of an outdated rivalry in this or that part of the world" (Times, Feb. 6).

In other words, only if Britain agrees to the extreme demands of France will

France conclude an alliance with her.

Any such submission to de Gaulle's policy would be disastrous. Nor would it help to create the close friendship between Britain and France that is so much to be desired. For it is extremely doubtful whether de Gaulle is other than a transient leader of France: indeed whether he is, in any sense, more representative than was Pétain himself. Only a minority of Frenchmen are politically vocal today.

Government's future

The Communist section of the Resistance movement supports de Gaulle, now that he has made his treaty with Russia. But the non-Communist Resistance is deeply dissatisfied with de Gaulle's domestic conservatism. "Combat," its chief organ, emphasizes the unnaturalness of the combination of the extreme Right (typified by Louis Marin) and the extreme Left (typified by Marcel Cachin).

"Certainly," says Combat, "the war must be finished and won, but in order to obtain the abolition of the reign of money, the socialization of credit and key industries. On an international scale we want a federation based on a common economy and the internationalization of the sources of raw materials."

The opposition of the non-Communist Resistance has been brought to a head by the complete victory of M. Plevin, the Minister of Finance, over M. Mendes-France, the Minister of National Economy, who pressed for a drastic deflation on the Belgian pattern. At the recent congress of the non-Communist Resistance (Mouvement de Libération Nationale: MLN) M. André Malraux fervently urged it to imitate the discipline and solidarity of the Communist Front National (FN). The Socialists wisely deprecate this, in favour of free discussion.

At the FN congress, the Communist M. Villon urged that at the municipal elections there should be a single list of candidates for all groups represented in the National Council of Resistance, with no more candidates than there are seats to be filled—thus throttling all opposition.

The evidence grows that if France remains a democracy, with free speech and free elections, the position of the de Gaulle government will be substantially weakened. It rests on an unstable combination, and a pre-

carious national mood, though it has an appearance of strength.

"Politically experienced critics of the Government's tendencies mostly consider that for the time being the Government is strong since, in spite of the failure in the food and fuel supply to the towns, it can rely both on the Communist support and a flag-wagging appeal to establish France in some undefined form "from end to end of the R'n'e" (Manchester Guardian, Feb. 3).

This policy, adds the Manchester Guardian, gravely disquiets many Frenchmen—naturally, because it demands a strength which even prior to this war France did not possess; and because, if followed, it must jeopardize reconstruction at home.

Moreover if, as we may trust, the Communist plan of fake elections fails, two large bodies of opinion which are at present completely stifled will find expression: the near-pacifist opinion of the peasants and little men, which used to be voiced by the Radicals and Radical-Socialists, and the very considerable body of quite patriotic bourgeois-conservatism that respects Pétain and had no real objection to Vichy. From neither of these will come any support for the de Gaulle policy of hitching France to Russia, in a suicidal effort to crush Germany for ever.

Better feeling

The Catholic Herald indeed reports:

"It is a fact that over France as a whole there are better feelings towards the Germans today than during and after the last war. There is agreement that Germany should receive a hard peace which would put her out of range of temptation to attempt the old game again, but, having done this, many would like to see the beginnings of a closer understanding with Germany and the rebuilding of Western Europe on a basis of understanding. The change is, surprisingly enough, a result of the Occupation, which was for the most part extremely skilfully done. Comparatively few suffered (though those that did suffered badly), but the majority enjoyed a reasonable condition of life—certainly easier than at present."

"Germany knew how to flatter France and to reiterate time and again how much Germany needed France. It is a sentiment that in some ways contracts with the Frenchman's feeling that the Englishman does not feel any real need of France. And it must be said that this easier feeling towards Germany is to be found in all sections of the country, except among the most active Resistance Groups and, of course, the Communists or near-Communists."

Nor is it to be forgotten that among the non-Communist Resistance there is a definite sentiment (voiced by Combat above) in favour of European federation, including Germany.

LETTERS

Obliteration bombing - and other atrocities

May I assure Mr. J. R. Bond that the sentence he criticizes (PN, Feb. 2) from an article by me was not written lightly?

In assessing the relative demerits of Nazi cruelty and Allied bombing I agree with him when he insists on "the valid distinction of cruelty inflicted chiefly through cruel motives, and incidental though inevitable pain inflicted with a motive chiefly other than cruelty." I agree with him that the distinction exists—but I do not agree with his implication that the one type of inflicted pain is less immoral than the other.

The Nazi who, through fanaticism or acquired inclination or what you will, deliberately commits a cruel act has at least the courage of his own abominable convictions. He comes face to face with a moral issue and makes his decision. But the bomber-pilot who drops his bombs in an obliteration raid, knowing perfectly well the agony and suffering his action causes, and who then takes refuge in the hit-or-miss nature of his job, and tries to avoid responsibility by pleading that any suffering he causes is incidental, merely adds the cowardice of evasion to the crime of murder. The RAF pilot is no better than the SS concentration-camp guard simply because he kills in the dark and does not see the death-agonies of his victims.

Finally, let me quote a significant sentence or two from a newspaper report of the last American raid on Berlin: "The time chosen was crucial. Streams of refugees have jammed the capital's arteries for days. Last night there must have been chaos . . ." (Reynolds, Feb. 4).

Are we even sure that the pain inflicted is always incidental to other motives? Where human suffering is concerned, I think the tree should always be judged by its fruits.

CYRIL HUGHES

92 Fulwood Rd., Aigburth, Liverpool, 17.

I was very pleased to read the letter of J. R. Bond drawing attention to the difference between Nazi crimes and obliteration-bombing; in my view, they have very little in common. Surely our cause would be better served if we confined ourselves to such simple statements as . . . "We waited until Berlin was crammed full of refugees before we delivered our heaviest bombing attack." Such statements would, I think, do more to stir the minds and consciences of people than any attempt to compare Nazi atrocities with our bombing.

S. C. W. GILL

102 Surbiton Hill Park, Surbiton, Surrey.

Mr. J. R. Bond (PN, Feb. 2) objects to Cyril Hughes' statement that "The worst crimes of the Nazis do not surpass in horror and atrocity the obliteration attacks on Europe . . ." I too criticize the remark in question but for reasons different from those advanced by Mr. Bond. Why are pacifists so anxious to talk about the "crimes" of our enemies? Whilst hostilities

are in progress are we really in a position to know very much about these "crimes" or to draw a really complete picture? Is it possible that some of us may be suffering from an inferiority complex (not uncommon amongst members of minority movements) which inclines us (perhaps sub-consciously) to seek to curry favour with our fellow-citizens in an endeavour to prove to them that although we have some eccentricity of conscience which prevents us from fighting, we are nevertheless at one with them in our general attitude toward our "enemies"? The United Peace Campaign has just issued a leaflet entitled "Falsehood in War!"—it is well worth reading.

H. GORDON MOORE

54 Church Rd., Richmond, Surrey.

On Tower Hill, too

In Peace News, Feb. 2, I read an article entitled "Taking Pacifism to City Workers." As I usually buy my copy of your paper on Tower Hill, among a large crowd of City workers, every Monday lunch-time, I was naturally surprised to find no reference to these admirable meetings, which I find, on inquiry, have gone on with great regularity, not for months, but for years.

I have never been a member of the PPU, but I must confess to being deeply impressed by the nature and quality of these open-air meetings on Tower Hill, and should like to add my tribute to the enthusiasm on the Lincoln's Inn Fields meetings. I think the right speaker in a public place is of incalculable value in putting over the fundamental conception of right-living held by sincere believers in the pacifist doctrine, and this method of contact with the public can, and I am sure does, cause a lot of averagely thoughtful people to look at the whole question of war from a different angle, whatever their ultimate conclusions may be.

It is this business of straight thinking that needs to be hammered into people again and again, and this can only be achieved by an unusually intelligent and logical speaker. Enthusiasm is not enough by itself. From an open-air platform you can catch and hold the attention of hundreds of "men in the street" who would not pay their 2d. and sit down to read Peace News.

(Incidentally, I have been told that a PPU member has for several years sold Peace News there, even when the speaker was ill or away on holiday.)

All honour to those who dare to proclaim their faith from the wall-top on Tower Hill no less than from a stand in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

PHYLIS VALLANCE

6 Paradise Walk, Chelsea, S.W.3.

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'BRAZOS CAIDOS'

THE unpractised commentator on Latin American politics has two varieties of nightmare. The first is induced by the kaleidoscopic succession of (to him) similar hispanic names as coup follows putsch (according to your fancy) and Dictator succeeds Junta. The slogans are democratic, but in all else it is hard to visualize life proceeding inside the conventions familiar to us—and impossible to imagine it providing experimental room for pacifist techniques.

All of which underlines the recent history of El Salvador. This tiny "coffee" republic of Central America's Pacific coast sprouted an orthodox military revolt against its tyrant dictator, Gen. Martinez, just ten months ago. It failed—and was bloodily suppressed. Three weeks later there broke out—with all the spontaneity the phrase ought to imply—a resistance of a totally different character. It was peaceable, disciplined—and popular. Its leadership came from the students, not from a military faction. But with the militarists benevolently neutral peaceful resistance deposed the regime, where armed revolt had merely fed its ruthlessness. The episode makes an exciting story, as told by Devere Allen, editor of the Worldover Press, under the title "Non-Violence Goes Latin," which is to be published in this country as the Peace News Pamphlet for March.

The success of brazos caídos (literally: arms dangling; freely: sit-down strike) had its repercussions on neighbouring dictatorships. It is a more promising gambit for oppressed peasants than seizing Lend-Lease tanks and turning them on the oppressors. But, of course, inspired improvisation is not pacifism by conviction. El Salvador has shown how ordinary people, driven to desperation, can overthrow a tyrant; as was to be expected, it has not found the means to consolidate its democratic revolution. After five months of wildly free speech and Press, the new regime was ousted by the inevitable Colonel. How far and fast belief in peaceful means of change has taken root the next few weeks may show. It is significant that the US news-magazine Time summarizes local reaction in the words of a (naturally) anonymous citizen: "What this country needs is to cart every last bit of armament to Acapulco and dump it into the sea." Meanwhile, the PPU Non-Violence Committee is anxious to draw the right morals from the story, and readers of Devere Allen's account may like to help them.

I said there were two nightmares for the remote observer: the other is that there will be a further revolution before his words are read. Yet it would be immensely encouraging if the Salvadorans were to dangle their arms to some purpose, say, this weekend.

H.W.

Are you pulling your weight?

... A question put to some 16,000 readers by

PATRICK FIGGIS

General Secretary, P.P.U.

I have tried to understand the cause of such lack of support.

The reasons are many, but one stands out above the rest. Several thousands of our friends who, say, read Peace News regularly and eagerly, do not regard our work as sufficiently vital to require them to make sacrifices for it. Why is this?

ACHIEVEMENTS AND AIMS

Two reasons I suggest: (1) They do not realize what good work the Union has undertaken during its 8 years of existence so far. They are unaware of the influence that our Food Relief Campaign has had upon the public and the Government. They do not realize how the Union has brought strength and courage to a great many pacifists during the war. They do not recognize for how many outside our ranks, too, the Union has kept the light burning. They have not been told, perhaps, that every month we receive about 30 new members of whom probably 15 are converts to pacifism. They do not consider the encouragement that our Union brings to pacifists overseas.

(2) They do not understand what we are trying to accomplish. To shorten the war? That is not our main aim. To persuade the Government to adopt a pacifist policy? In the nature of things such an attempt cannot succeed. To persuade men that they ought not to fight? Such a message represents at the best only half of what we have to say. Rather, I suggest, what the Union is concerned to achieve is this: so to allow a revolution to take place in ourselves that as a result of our words and deeds others will be persuaded to allow that same revolution to take place in them so that the spirit and ideas that make for peace may be released into the world; also, to assert our belief at all times that war is the wrong method of seeking to restrain aggression and establish peace—there is another non-violent and more effective way.

WILL YOU HELP?

This, therefore, is the question that I would put to you: if we could talk together, do you, as a pacifist, believe that such an undertaking is today relevant and important? If not, then of course we cannot look for your help. But if you agree that it is both relevant and greatly needed, although perhaps you may in the main be committed to other important work so far as most of your time and money are concerned, can you altogether deny us your support?

My own view as a Christian and a socialist (of a kind) is this: the work of our Union is not the only vital work being done today; nor

"I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER."

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Further information from: General Secretary, P.P.U., Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

will the Union necessarily always deserve our support. But in view of the international and national situation; in view of the fact that further war in the future seems by no means improbable; in view of the prevailing condition of men's hearts and minds (not that we are necessarily better ourselves); in view of the number of our people up and down the country who still hold together in fellowship and who still are anxious to create a live and effective Union, working with much self-sacrifice for it; in view too of the way in which all the time some people are turning from war and looking towards us—I do consider that today the Union merits the support of everyone who has renounced war and who wishes to create true peace.

Are you prepared to help us? If so, please write to me at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1. I am looking for 500 new people, on whom we can rely for some regular support, by our AGM at the end of April. Sixpence per week and/or 3 hours' service per fortnight from 500 new people would make a considerable difference.

William Busch

It is with deep regret that we record the death on Jan. 30, at Wollacombe, North Devon, of William Busch, a distinguished pacifist musician. By his death the PPU has lost a talented member and Peace News a generous supporter.

"He was one of those rare beings, like Max Plowman" (writes a friend) "we shall never see the like of again. A talented musician and the type of pacifist, alas, so scarce."

His Piano Quartet was performed at a National Gallery Concert last year, and his Cello Concerto was played by Florence Hooton and conducted by Sir Adrian Boult at the Albert Hall in 1943.

Annual general meeting

Area Secretaries and local returning officers should know that area resolutions and application for voting papers must be received at Dick Sheppard House not later than first post on Tuesday, March 13. The success of our AGM plainly depends to some extent upon them.

But if the AGM is really to be successful it depends upon the number and wisdom of those voting in the Council Election, upon the willingness of some of our best people to stand for Council, and upon the attendance both in terms of quantity and quality at the AGM itself on Apr. 28 and 29. It is hoped that every group will send a representative; that as many contact members will attend as possible; and that we shall have a really good attendance of individual members. It is hoped that at any rate every member will do his or her utmost to vote.

"What is lacking today is a sense of personal responsibility." "Democracy is a sham—look at the proportion of the electorate that votes in an election." "The trouble is that we have got the wrong people on Council!" "Pacifists today are faced with a great opportunity." For these and other reasons I hope that this year's vote will be a record one. If you do not know all the people who are nominated for Council, you need not vote for more than those that you know. P.H.F.

Words of Peace - 112

Self-government is not a mere form of institutions, to be had when desired, if only proper pains be taken. It is a form of character. It follows upon the long discipline which gives a people self-possession, self-mastery, the habit of order and peace and common counsel, and a reverence for law which will not fail when they themselves become the makers of law.

—Woodrow Wilson, "Constitutional Government in the United States."

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

TERMS: Cash with order, except for series bookings. Copy by Monday. 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra.) Maximum length: 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date. We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

ACCOMMODATION

FOR ALL PROPERTIES available in N.W. London apply to Messrs. McCraith & Brooks, 44 The Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 3 lines.)

WOMAN, HUSBAND MISSING, girls 3-5 years, wishes furnished, unfurnished accommodation, safe area. Box 819.

WOMAN, MIDDLE-AGED, wishes furnished, unfurnished rooms, 40-50 miles London. Husband week-ends; reasonable. Box 820.

SAFFRON WALDEN or near. Young pacifist couple (no children) require accommodation, preferably furnished, end of March. Part-time domestic help could be arranged. All replies answered. Box 821.

YOUNG PACIFIST COUPLE urgently seek house or flat, unfurnished or part furnished in or near London. Box 824.

TORQUAY, PAIGNTON DISTRICT: some sort of accommodation required for summer, from early March, by male C.O. Part work considered. Box 825.

WATFORD—C.O. and wife urgently require unfurnished (preferable) or furnished accommodation; reasonable. Davies, 22 Coronation St., Barnstable.

YOUNG MAN, C.O., wants accommodation, seaside, country. Not working present. Willing help light jobs; household etc. Moderate terms. Box 830.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44.)

Advertisements not accompanied by cash will not be inserted—see our terms (above).

EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. (PRI. 5686.)

FOR SALE AND WANTED

WAR RESISTERS' International would welcome gifts of foreign stamps, for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Please send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

UNICORN BRAND Foot Paste is the safe and sure remedy for corns, hard skin and warts. It never fails. 7d. per box (inc. tax); 3 boxes post free 1s. 9d. Get it today. We repeat: it never fails. Barker's, Station Road, Sandiacre, Notts.

LAMB BRAND Typewriter Ribbons, 100 dozen, 18s. 6d. six, 10s. three, 8s. 6d. each, all postage paid. Mention models, colours, P.N. Hardman's, 15 Prospect Place, Preston.

BURLS, 797 Old Kent Rd., S.E.15, for your new cycle and every type of repair. New Cross 4129.

SAMPLE BARGAIN FIVE. "Bolshevik Agent," woodcut by Gwen Raverat. Signed 25s. And others of course! Box 788.

LAND AND COMMUNITY

YOUNG MAN with experience of running own farm wishes to join with a partner or partners in farming 70 to 150 acres. Box 831.

LITERATURE, etc.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

"EARN TO SPEAK" by Florence Surfleet, 1s. 6d. (1s. 8d. post free), for use with groups or individually. Headley Brothers, 109 Kingsway, W.C.2.

FREE BOOKLET entitled "Christ, the Communist," together with Price List of Books on Prophecy, Theology, Christian Communism, 21d. Kingdom Movement, 21 Poplar Grove, New Malden.

BEDFORD NEWS-LETTER. A personal letter and short informed articles. Annually 10s.; 6 months 5s. 6d.; specimen 6d. Secretary: News-Letter, Cairnmore, Newton Stewart, Scotland.

"DEATH'S DIVIDENDS" (Ruth Fry); "Greek Situation" (Rhys Davies, M.P.); "Russia and Recon-struction"; "Netherland Notes" (Donald Pritchard); "Votes for All?"; "Christian Revolution Methods" (Norman Robbins); "Russian Education"; Poetry (Ronald Mallone, Thomas Pitfield); Commentary: "Crucified Hand" (Don Armistage); 20 pages. 5d.

"Christian Party News-Letter" (PN 216), 30 Darby Rd., Oldbury.

BIBLIOPHILES! Collectors' and general books: No. 5 list, 24d. T. H. Tresadern, 137 Vaughan Rd., Harrow, Middx.

MEETINGS, etc.

LONDON AREA P.P.U. "What kind of peace?" Series of meetings will be held on this subject in Hyde Park, Sundays, 3 p.m.

CONCERT IN AID of Warsaw's Children. Tippet: A Child of Our Time; Bax: Fantasia on Polish Christmas Carols; Szymanowski: Ballet Suite "Harnasie"; Joan Cross, Peter Pears, Margaret MacArthur, Owen Brannigan; Michael Tippett, Basil Cameron; London Philharmonic Orchestra; Leicester Philharmonic Society and Morley College Choirs. Feb. 28, 7 p.m. Royal Albert Hall, S.W.7. Tickets 3s.-12s. from Hall (Ken. 3661) or Morley College, S.E.1.

LONDON FORUM. Director, Fredrick Lohr. Public Lecture: Anthony Elanjittam on "An Approach to Universality." 7.15 p.m., Mon., Feb. 19, 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1.

JOHN S. HOYLAND will speak on India at meeting at Friends' Meeting House, 25 London Rd., High Wycombe on Sat., Feb. 24, commencing with tea at 4 p.m. All welcome.

BARNET, Ewen Hall, Wood St., 7.45 p.m. "The Treatment of Germany." Rhys Davies, Patrick Figgis, Rev. B. C. Hopson (Chair).

THE BRETON WOODS Proposals. Lecture by E. F. Schumacher at Livingstone Hall, Westminster, Tues., Feb. 20, at 5.30 p.m. Admission free.

National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

WALTHAMSTOW REGION—Sat., Feb. 24, one-day school. Dr. Alex Wood, "Towards the Peaceful Society." Chairman: E. C. Rednach. Sessions 3.15 and 6 p.m. Tea—American. Dancing to close. Admission free. Unitarian Church Hall, Lea Bridge Rd.—5 mins. Bakers Arms. Buses 38, 38A, 581, 661 pass door.

PERSONAL

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, Stamp Secy, PN 19 Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.

SOFT & WOOD Toy Making. Fascinating Crafts with enormous post-war possibilities. Simplified Patterns and Instruction Courses available. List and leaflet free for stamped addressed envelope. "Homecrafts Dept., Toy Works, Loates Lane, Watford.

YOU WILL FIND true friendship in the L. and H.C. Correspondence Club. Send s.a.e. for particulars to Secretary, L. and H.C.C.C., 39 Reighton Rd., London, E.5.

ANY MUSICIAN wanting piano duets for one piano, including string trios, quartets, etc., of Beethoven, Brahms, Schubert, Dvorak and others, can have same on applying to Mrs. Jamieson, Little Marlow, Bucks. Free of charge.

SITUATIONS VACANT

It is impossible to confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised in Peace News. Applicants in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for C.O.s, Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

KINGSMOOR SCHOOL, GLOSSOP, Derbs. Resident Prep. School Mistress (preferably Froebel) with History. M. of L. permit held for woman born 1917 or earlier. Burnham Scale with deduction for residence. Apply Headmaster.

WOMAN MEMBER REQUIRED to join Community Farm to help with cooking and domestic work. J. Middleton Murry, Lodge Farm, Theltham, Diss, Norfolk.

WANTED. Companion (which really means Working Companion) wanted to help mother/journalist cope with home and four nice children. Peaceful Devon. Locals kind to C.O.s; bombs unheard-of. Excessive salary to right person. Box 812.

WANTED 2-3 WORKERS, communal market-garden, view to preparation for post-war work with unemployed or ex-Service folk. Temporary help welcome. Herbert Shipley, Moore Place, Stanfield-le-Hope, Essex.

1s. 9d. PER HOUR domestic help required, 10 to 14 hours a week, by business woman. Hours to fit applicant. Interviews early afternoon. 62 Friern Park, North Finchley, N.12.

FRENCH POLISHER REQUIRED, S.E. London. Very high wages to right man. Permanent. Real prospects now and post-war. Friendly company offered. Box 822.

WANTED—Christian C.O. teacher for Private School (160 boys). Preferably to take Science to School Certificate. Box 826.

FOOTWEAR. Capable manager required by multiple retailers for N. London branch. Write stating experience and salary required. Box 829.

RESIDENT MASTER required summer term, mainly for games. Some teaching and supervision. Nice post. Good salary. Coventry Preparatory School, Kenilworth Road, Coventry.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

TYPEWRITING & DUPLICATING of every description—manuscripts, examination papers, etc. Mailing service. Price list on application. Box 817.

REQUIRED IN MARCH, situation on farm by C.O. 4 yrs. sound experience. Machine and hand-milking. Calf and fatstock management. Tractor ploughing and all cultivations. Keen hard worker. Married. Good cottage essential. Present position Hertfordshire. Box 832.

WANTED. Employment for C.O. who has been under treatment for mental strain. Congenial occupation in sympathetic surroundings more important than wages. Land-work or occupation in a Nursery or Market-garden considered the most suitable. Reply Box 823.

C.O., 23, urgently desires progressive welfare work; preferably Lancs., Ches., or N. Wales. 2½ yrs. P.S.U. case-work experience. John Williams, "Bodfryn," Gaerwen, Anglesey.

YOUNG MAN, experienced tree-fruit and poultry, seeks situation. Any district. (Single, unconditional exemption.) Box 827.

EXPERIENCED GARDENER (married) urgently requires job with cottage in Surrey-Sussex area. Enthusiastic, capable, strong, willing to work hard and able to take charge. Box 828.

MISCELLANEOUS

INSTITUTE PSYCHOLOGY. Kensington. Lectures every Tuesday, 7 p.m. Philosophy, genuine social introductions. Consultations all problems. Western 8935.

ALLYSOL—SEND stamps 5d. for two 20-page booklets of life-conserving information about garlic: (1) a herbal remedy with 5,000 years of history; (2) Rheumatism and Catarrh dissolved at their root. Allysol Company, Fairlight, Sussex.

Police raids on anarchists

- A protest

"THE recent disquieting attack against freedom of speech and of the Press, represented by police action against anti-war individuals and organizations," is the subject of a letter we have received signed by George Woodcock, Laurie Hislam, and Fredrick Lohr.

"We refer in particular," say the writers, "to the persecution of Freedom Press, the anarchist publishers, and of certain individuals connected therewith.

"On Dec. 12 a squad of the Special Branch raided the Freedom Press offices, with a search warrant authorizing them to seize any articles 'which they had reasonable ground for believing to be evidence of the commission of an offence under Defence Regulation 39A', which is the regulation declaring that no person shall attempt to seduce from their duties persons in HM's service. The powers of their warrant were therefore clearly defined, but instead of selecting relevant material, the procedure adopted was, to quote from War Commentary, 'to empty the contents from the different letter-trays straight into sacks, seize invoices and account-books which dealt entirely with transactions with bookshops and bundle them into sacks as well, seize the office typewriter and boxes containing stencils of addresses, letter-books and other materials without which it is virtually impossible to run a concern like Freedom Press.'

"A number of other warrants were issued authorizing raids on the houses of individuals connected with Freedom Press, or in one case of an individual who was merely friendly with a supporter of Freedom Press. In these raids personal correspondence, professional notes and literary manuscripts which only the most stupid policeman could have regarded as relevant evidence were taken away. In one case, when no-one was there to open the door, the police broke in and went away without even leaving a notification of their action.

"None of us is in complete ideological agreement with War Commentary, the newspaper published by Freedom Press, but we all recognize clearly the danger to the freedom of speech and writing implicit in these actions of our budding Gestapo. It is possible that further and more serious persecution will be applied to Freedom Press and other war resisters, and that if the police get away with this disregard of elementary liberties we shall see a steady widening of the area of persecution.

"Therefore we should like to suggest that at this time, and if only in their own eventual interests, all war resisters should unite in showing solidarity with the victimized, and should state in no uncertain voice their condemnation of such attacks on the freedom which our statesmen so hypocritically pretend to support."

Please note our only address
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OR MARKET GARDEN (catalogue free)
"IN YOUR GARDEN" Seedsmen
NEWMAN ST., SHIRLEY TERMINUS,
SOUTHAMPTON

DAY CONFERENCE FOR SOUTH WALIANS!

Friends' House,
43 Charles St., Cardiff.
Saturday, February 24, 1945.
2.30-4.30. 5.30-7.30.
Subject: "Future of P.P.U."
Speakers:
REV. PATRICK FIGGIS, LONDON;
REV. W. T. PENNAR DAVIES.
Tea provided—bring your own food.

CHRISTIANS, POLITICS AND WAR

Is it Scriptural for Christians to take part in Politics and engage in Military Service? Reply to the late Mr. George Lansbury and Dr. Alfred Salter setting forth the position of Christians during the absence of Christ in the present dispensation. Post free 1d.

VINER HALL,
The Institute, Weston-super-Mare, Som.

Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by "Peace News" Ltd. Printed by Clifford Printing Co. (T.U.), London, N.16.

Divisions that threaten democracy

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

kilometres in favour of Poland," which must receive substantial accessions of territory in the north and west. The final delimitation of Poland's western frontier should "thereafter await the Peace Conference."

In Yugo-Slavia a new government is to be formed on the basis of the Subasic-Tito agreement, and then the present Assembly of National Liberation shall be extended to include non-collaborator members of the last Skupshtina. Legislation passed by the present Assembly is subject to ratification by a future constituent assembly.

The Foreign Secretaries will meet every three or four months in rotation in the three capitals.

Future prospects

ON paper at least Russia has made very considerable concessions to the Western view, in particular to the American; and the declaration in general is one which should smooth the way for USA participation in the World Security Organization. Everything depends on the manner in which the decisions are implemented. But on the face of it it would appear that the Big Three have achieved more unity than seemed possible.

If they have learned to trust one another and to put faith in each other's word, then there is hope. The crucial test is whether the full light of publicity is thrown on the obscurity in which events in Eastern Europe have hitherto been shrouded. Any such declaration in general terms gives ample opportunity for evasion.

But in spite of the fact that experience has made me very wary, I must confess that the declaration is better than I feared it would be. I regret that it is not more reassuring to the German people; but I feel the time is past when such reassurance might have produced any, political effect.

And the chaos in Germany may well be such that paper plans are meaningless.

Danger to democracies

THE dangers of stalemate in the politics of the Western democracies are well illustrated by Belgium. The Pierlot coalition government has resigned because the Liberals and Socialists withdrew their members. The Communists, who were outside the coalition, were discredited by their part in the November disturbances. M. van Acker, a Socialist member of the Pierlot government, undertook to form a new one—composed of Liberals, Socialists, and Communists with the Left of the Catholic Party. He has only just managed to do so, owing to the Catholics' reluctance to work with the Communists. It remains to be seen whether it will succeed where the Pierlot government failed.

Conditions in Belgium, worsened by the Rundstedt offensive, are such that probably no parliamentary government could have survived the popular discontent. It is doubtful whether de Gaulle himself would survive, if he were responsible to a Parliament. Particularly significant is the visible tendency of the political forces to divide into three parts: a conservative Right, a progressive Centre—composed of Liberals, moderate Socialists, Catholic democrats—and a revolutionary Left composed of Left Socialists and Communists. Such a division makes parliamentary government very insecure. It has been temporarily averted in France by the postponement of Parliament and the unnatural combination of Communists and the Conservatives. It may very well manifest itself in this country, if the Liberals return to hold the balance of power.

Political alignments

THIS threefold division corresponds to political realities. In the

present condition of the world the people in capitalist democracies are roughly divided into those who want to cling to as much as possible of the old order, those who believe it ought to be and can be radically reformed by legal and peaceful means, and those who believe that nothing less than revolutionary change will suffice—part of whom believe in the possibility of peaceful revolution, and part do not.

That grouping, natural in such times as these, is going to put a tremendous strain on parliamentary institutions: which work really well only on a two-party system. But it is increasingly doubtful whether any two-party alignment can reflect the actual forces of present-day democracy: and it is possible that the effort to cling to it will produce paralysis.

One may anticipate a strengthening of the forces of the progressive Centre, till it becomes preponderant. But how to make that work effectively, when the opposition must consist of incompatibles, is by no means easy to see. What is quite certain is that Parliamentary government is about to undergo a much severer strain than ever before.

Peace in Greece?

FULL agreement has at last been reached between ELAS and the Greek Government, on the complete disarmament of the ELAS forces. An amnesty is granted for all political crimes. But observers on the spot are not sanguine.

"Feelings are still running so high that few can feel that the agreement will be honoured in the spirit, even if it is kept in the letter. . . . One feels that the extremists on both sides are not satisfied and will redouble their efforts to spread their dissatisfaction. Indeed, there is plenty of evidence that the process has commenced, if indeed it ever really ceased."

"KKE (Greek Communist Party) propaganda in the form of leaflets threatening their enemies and 'reactionaries' is circulating in the streets of Athens, while again there are stories of people being shot. Whether or not this is inspired or approved by KKE leaders, it is quite evident that they do not intend to see their powerful organization disintegrate even if its army is disbanded" (M. Guardian, Feb. 13).

American outlook

THE Washington correspondent of The Economist (Feb. 10), who is, as I have said before, the most brilliant British correspondent in USA, considers that there are two major differences between USA in 1918 and in 1945. First, this time USA does not intend to disarm. Second, the productive potential of an economy which has added 20 billions dollars' worth of factories to a pre-war total of 50 billions, which makes irresistible the pressure to explore the possibility of exporting as a cure for unemployment, and "present-day Americans know that exporting means importing." He concludes, warily:

"Neither of these major differences between the American position in 1918 and today—neither the unwillingness to disarm nor the anxiety to export—necessarily forecasts a foreign policy that is either integrated with those of other nations nor close-knit in itself. But they do not add up to American withdrawal."

NEWS IN BRIEF

Entr'aide Française ask those friends who have written to them, as well as those who have sent food, to accept their thanks: they are unable to answer letters individually.

An announcement will be made in Peace News as soon as more food can be sent. An explanatory statement about the background and function of Entr'aide Française is available (1d.) at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

A statement strongly protesting against the raid by Allied aircraft on Berlin on Feb. 3, when the city "contained 3,000,000 evacuees, almost doubling the population and making shelter from air-raids impossible" is being circulated as widely as possible by the Peckham group of the P.P.U. "These barbarities on the part of the Germans," says the statement, "have often been condemned by the Allies, but this attack has lowered us to their level. We call upon all who profess high motives to make no secret of their disgust."

A French underground newspaper quoted by The Reporter (USA) declared that the first Englishmen to enter Paris after its recapture were two COs with the Friends Ambulance Unit. They were working with a Fighting French Medical Battalion.

Frank Sayer was appointed half-time Organizer of East Anglia at the Area Committee's meeting at Norwich on Saturday last. His job will include visiting isolated Contact Members and individual signatories, as well as the stimulation of group and regional activity.

When settling accounts with PN, please do NOT send stamps, except for any odd pence.

CANNOT APPROVE PLANS FOR MASS - DEPORTATIONS

Bishop's better way to deal with Germany

ON the assumption that Germany and Japan would be completely defeated, there were ominous hints of conditions to be imposed which no Christian could properly approve, said the Bishop of Birmingham, speaking last week on "A Christian Approach to Peace" in the National Peace Council's series of Friday lunch-hour addresses at Kingsway Hall, London.

If Christianity was true to the facts of the world, we should find either that such conditions would not be effective or that they would sow the seeds of further wars. The significant people in central Europe when hostilities ended would still be the Germans. They were singularly industrious and had great powers of endurance. How could a nation inherently powerful be given such opportunity for the exercise of its good qualities that it happily took its share in rebuilding European civilization?



DR. BARNES

The most disquieting fact of recent months, said Dr. Barnes, was the Prime Minister's statement of Dec. 15, approving territorial changes in Eastern Europe.

Semi-official statements indicated that in the peace settlement Russia is to take some German and Polish territory, Poland to receive compensation at Germany's expense. These changes were to be accompanied by mass-deportations affecting, it was estimated, some seven million people, millions of whom would be crowded into Germany, adding to her social difficulties.

Such a policy every Christian must affirm to be wrong, morally an outrage. It was incredible that the allied nations should revert to such barbarism.

These, and other territorial demands, could only be preserved by a permanent military occupation of Germany.

All shared the desire that Germany should not have power to manufacture armaments on a vast scale. But to prevent a modern industrialized nation with great organizing ability from having the power to make munitions of war, you must destroy its industries. Indefinite Allied control of German industry would work only if Britain and America agreed to control their own "big business."

CREATIVE APPROACH

Could we not make a different, a Christian, approach? Security from war and social well-being were inseparable. Nations were ripe for war when they were unhappy, economically miserable, and when they resented the restrictions imposed upon them.

Suppose that we were to build a Europe in which each nation felt that it had its comfortable place in the sun. We as a nation, and as an Empire, should have to give up some present advantages. But, in return, we could be free from the fears which create the demand for conscription.

"Our enmity and consequent distrust are a growth of the last two generations. Establish a new friendliness, by generosity give opportunities for its growth, and trust will be possible. Base your peace on the indefinite maintenance of military force and your plans will fail."

There will be no meeting today (Friday) in the NPC series of lunch-hour addresses on "The Outlook for the Peace" at Kingsway Hall. Next week's speaker (Feb. 23) will be Mr. A. Creech Jones, MP, on "A Policy for the Far East."

Mr. E. F. Schumacher will be the speaker in the NPC series of lectures, "Towards World Recovery," at Livingstone Hall, Westminster, at 5.30 p.m. on Tuesday (Feb. 20).

Life sentence for refusing to drill

A DEATH sentence imposed by a court martial in California, on 27-year-old Private Henry Weber for refusing to drill has been revoked, and Weber has been sentenced to dishonourable discharge from the US Army and life imprisonment with hard labour (Reuter message, Evening Standard, Feb. 8).

Weber said:

"Wars are caused by the society in which we now live, and which cannot prevent a third world war. I am interested in a world in which all men can live peacefully. To be a good soldier you have got to learn to hate and kill. I am willing to do anything I can to get the war over so long as I don't have to kill other people."